

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 INRE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 /031 R

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DRAFTED BY: EUR/CE/SGEORGE/CN
APPROVED BY D - MR. RUSH
EUR - MR. STABLER
S/S - DWMILLER

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R 290039Z NOV 73
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN
INFO ANATO
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T STATE 233936

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (LAST LINE IN PARA 1.)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, GW, NATO
SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY CONVERSATION WITH GERMAN
AMBASSADOR

SUMMARY: IN REVIEW GENERAL SITUATION WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY,
FRG AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED HOPE THAT EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS
CAN BE WORKED OUT AND THAT RECENT PERIOD OF STRAIN WITHIN
ALLIANCE CAN SOON BE CONSIDERED ENDED. DEPSEC SAID WE ARE
QUITE WILLING WORK TO THAT END, BUT THERE ARE REAL AND
SERIOUS PROBLEMS WHICH NEED BE FACED UP TO, IN TERMS "WE-
THEY" RELATIONSHIP WHICH EUROPEANS SEEM WISH HAVE WITH US.
END SUMMARY.

1. FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN, WHO PLANS SPEND DAY OR SO IN
BONN IN CONNECTION WITH RETURN TO GERMANY NOVEMBER 28 ON
PRIVATE BUSINESS, CALLED ON DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH NOVEMBER
26 FOR TOUR D'HORIZON IN LIGHT RECENT EVENTS AND UPCOMING
SECRET

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NATO MINISTERIAL. AT VON STADEN'S REQUEST, DEPSEC REVIEWED
PROSPECTS FOR ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, EMPHASIZING
THAT DESPITE POSITIONS TAKEN TO DATE BY EC-NINE AND JAPAN,
WHICH HAVE GIVEN ARABS MUCH GREATER LEVERAGE IN USE OF OIL

WEAPON THAN THEY WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE HAD, MAXIMUM DEGREE OF WORKING TOGETHER BY OIL-CONSUMING NATIONS STILL OFFERS BEST HOPE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO OIL SUPPLY PROBLEM. VON STADEN DID NOT DIRECTLY CHALLENGE THIS, BUT SAID HE STILL CANNOT SEE THAT EUROPEANS OR JAPANESE COULD HAVE DONE ANYTHING THAT WOULD HAVE HAD MUCH REAL EFFECT ON ARABS. HE ADDED THAT FRENCH WILL BE SAYING THAT ALL THIS ONLY CONFIRMS CORRECTNESS OF POLICIES THEY HAVE BEEN URGING SINCE 1967 WAR.

2. VON STADEN THEN TURNED TO TOPIC OF MAJOR INTEREST TO HIM--STATE OF US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP IN WAKE RECENT EVENTS. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY MODERATE TONE OF SECRETARY'S NOVEMBER 21 PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS, ESPECIALLY CONSTRUCTIVE VIEW HE TOOK RE DRAFT EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS. HE WONDERED WHETHER THESE COULD BE FINISHED BEFORE OR AT NATO MINISTERIAL AND, IF SO, WHETHER PUBLIC IMPRESSION COULD NOT THEN BE GIVEN THAT PERIOD OF ACUTE STRAIN AND DIFFICULTY IN ALLIANCE NOW RPT NOW BEHIND US, MISUNDERSTANDINGS CLARIFIED, ETC. HE REFERRED TO RECENT WALL STREET JOURNAL ARTICLE BY IRVING KRISTOL TITLED "NATO: END OF AN ALLIANCE" AND SAID IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF THIS LINE OF THINKING BECOMES WIDESPREAD.

3. DEPSEC SAID HE HOPED DECLARATIONS COULD BE WORKED OUT, BUT THAT VARIOUS HURDLES STILL REMAIN. HE SAID DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US DO NEED TO BE WORKED ON, AND THAT IT WAS A REAL SHOCK TO US WHEN ALLIES FAILED TO RALLY AROUND IN FACE OF OBVIOUS SOVIET INTENT TO MOVE INTO MIDDLE EAST IN HIGHLY DESTABILIZING WAY. VON STADEN WONDERED WHAT ALLIES COULD REALLY HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO DO, SINCE SITUATION EVOLVED VERY SWIFTLY, US DID NOT KEEP THEM TOO WELL POSTED, AND PARTICULARLY IN ALERT SITUATION, HE DIDN'T KNOW WHAT USEFUL STEPS ALLIES MIGHT HAVE TAKEN.

4. DEPSEC SAID THAT WHILE ONE CAN DEBATE AMOUNT AND TYPE OF INFORMATION SUPPLIED, AND DOUBTLESS IMPROVE CHANNELS OF SECRET

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COMMUNICATION, WE HAVE IN FACT CONSULTED QUITE FULLY WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES. HOWEVER, OVERRIDING FACT OF CONCERN TO US IS THAT FROM VERY BEGINNING OF AFFAIR, EUROPEANS SEEMED BE TRYING PUT AS MUCH DAYLIGHT AS POSSIBLE BETWEEN US AND THEMSELVES. THIS ATTITUDE IS UNFORTUNATELY CONSONANT WITH EC-NINE RESPONSE TO US INITIATIVE ON YEAR OF EUROPE, TO EC-NINE DECLARATION WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO RECENT EC-NINE APPROACH TO JAPANESE WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH US. IT IS THIS "WE-THEY" ATTITUDE WHICH IS DISTURBING TO US, SINCE IT IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH PARTNERSHIP SITUATION WE HAVE VIEWED US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP AS BEING. WE THEREFORE HAVE REAL AND SERIOUS PROBLEMS TO BE FACED UP TO, AND AREAS OF SUSPICION AND MISUNDERSTANDING TO BE RESOLVED.

5. VON STADEN SAID HE REALLY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT EC-NINE POSITION ON OIL WAS MOTIVATED BY DESIRE SHOW DISTANCE FROM US. HE ADDED THAT FRG CERTAINLY DOES NOT FAVOR SETTING UP OF EUROPEAN CAMP IN ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP WITH US. ON

OTHER HAND, HE SAID WE EUROPEANS ARE ALL IN SAME BOAT TOGETHER, AND HAVE TO KEEP IT MOVING FORWARD AS BEST WE CAN. ON RECENT EC-NINE APPROACH TO JAPAN, HE SAID THAT HE REGRETTED LACK OF CONSULTATION WITH US, BUT THAT SUBSTANTIVE POSITION SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE TO US. HE CLAIMED WHOLE IDEA OF JAPANESE ASSOCIATION WAS SPRUNG ON EUROPEANS AS SURPRISE AND THEY HAVE DISLIKED IT FROM BEGINNING. KISSINGER

SECRET

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ALLIANCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, AMBASSADORS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE233936
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/CE/SGEORGE/CN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750023-2029, P750023-2022
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731167/abqcejzr.tel
Line Count: 125
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <26-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY SECRETARY CONVERSATION WITH GERMAN AMBASSADOR
TAGS: PFOR, GE, US, EEC, NATO, (VON STADEN)
To: BONN INFO ANATO
NATO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005